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ABSTRACT

The tremendous racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity that characterizes Western societies today presents both challenges and opportunities. Ethnic conflict and tension are inevitable consequences of pluralistic societies. People must learn to live with a degree of conflict and tension in a culturally diverse nation-state. However, citizens should also formulate policy and strategies to reduce ethnic conflicts and tensions. This can be achieved by formulating and implementing educational policies that promote the structural inclusion of all ethnic, racial, and cultural groups into the nation-state. While pluralism is a challenge to Western nation-states, it is also an opportunity. It provides a source of innovation and helps a society to perceive problems in new ways and to develop innovative solutions. Structurally excluded ethnic and cultural groups also serve as a moral conscience for the nation-state by challenging it to close the gap between its democractic ideals and its social realities. To maximize the possibilities for benefits to result from cultural and ethnic diversity, the nation-state must validate the cultures of its diverse groups and help their members to develop clear reflective, and positive cultural, national, and global identifications. Two diagrams, "The Expanding Identifications of Students" and "The Stages of Ethnic and Cultural Development" are included, as is a 23 item bibliography. (CBS)

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CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN WESTERN SOCIETIES: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

BY

James A. Banks

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CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN WESTERN SOCIETIES:

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

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Cultural and Ethnic Diversity

We are living in a world society with tremendous racial, ethnic, cultural, religious, and social-class diversity. Nation-states throughout the world are faced with several major problems related to diversity: how to shape a nation-state that has an overarching set of values, goals, and ethos to which all of its various groups are committed; and how to structurally include diverse groups into the nation-state and assure that they experience justice and equality. The problem of trying to accommodate diversity and equality within a nation-state has become increasingly important within the Western nations since the Second World War because of the tremendous amount of migration and immigration that has taken place in the Western nations during the post-war period (Banks and Lynch, 1986).

The ethnic mixture of Western European nations such as the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands has been greatly enriched by immigrants from their former colonies. Many immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe have settled in nations such as Germany and Sweden in search of jobs and upward social mobility. More than 405,000 foreign nationals were living in Sweden in 1983; the largest groups consisted of 160,000 Finns and 38,500 Yugoslavians. Other groups included Turks, Greeks, Poles, Italians, Chileans, and Africans from several different nations (The Swedish Institute, 1984).

Australia has become increasingly culturally and ethnically diverse since the Second World War. During a large part of its history, Australia has had the so-called "White Policy" (Bullivant, 1986), which was designed primarily to keep out Asian immigrants. Between 1901 and 1947, immigration was restricted primarily to persons from Britain and Ireland. In 1947, 97 percent of Australia's population was of British or Irish descent.

In the post-World War II period Australia encouraged immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe in order to bolster its economy. Consequently, a demographic revolution occurred in Australia (Storer, 1985). Fifty-six percent of the immigrants who have settled in Australia since 1947 have come from nations other than the United Kingdom. Large numbers of Italians, Greeks, and Yugoslavians are now part of Australia's population. There are more Greeks living in Melbourne, Victoria than in any other city except Athens. Large numbers of Indochinese, particular Vietnamese, have settled in Australia since the Vietnam War. In 1981, over 20 percent of

Australia's population was born overseas (Storer). The image of Australia as an all-White, British-descent nation with a policy of banning non-Whites is an obsolete conception which is frequently expressed by U.S. citizens.

Since the Immigration Reform Act became effective in 1968, ethnic diversity within the United States has increased considerably from the large number of immigrants from the Philippines, Indochina, Korea, China, and other nations. The United States is experiencing its largest influx of immigrants since the turn of the century. In 1980 alone, more than 800,000 immigrants entered the United States. Prior to 1965, most immigrants who settled in the United States came from Europe. Most of the immigrants today come from the Spanish-speaking Latin American nations and from nations in Asia. Between 1971 and 1980, 82 percent of the legal immigrants of the United States came from non-European nations; 18 percent came from Europe. The non-White population in the United States is also increasing much faster than the White population. Between 1970 and 1980, the Mexican-American population increased 93 percent; the Asian population increased 141 percent. The White population of European descent increased only 6 percent between these years (Bureau of the Census, 1983). The proportion of the White population of European descent declined between 1900 and 1980 from 87.7 percent to 79.1 percent of the total U.S. population (Momeni, 1984).

The non-White population in the United States has increased even more dramatically than the above figures reveal. These figures are from the U.S. Census and therefore do not include estimates of the large number of undocumented (illegal) immigrants that live in the U.S. and that enter it each year. Most demographers in the U.S. believe that the number of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. is large, but estimates vary greatly. Archdeacon (1983, p. 244) reports that about 425,000 to 1.2 million Mexicans who entered the U.S. illegally became permanent residents of the U.S. between 1970 and 1975. This estimate does not include the undocumented immigrants who entered the U.S. from nations other than Mexico.

Ethnic Diversity: A Challenge

The kind of cultural, ethnic, racial, and religious diversity that the Western nations are experiencing is both an opportunity and a challenge to their society and institutions, including the schools. It is a challenge because when groups with divergent cultures and values interact within a society, ethnocentrism, racism, religious bigotry, and other forms of institutionalized rejection and hostility result. There are ample examples of these forms of group hostility and rejection in each of the nations today that are characterized by racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity. In several nation-states throughout the world, the incidents of bigoted attacks on ethnic and cultural minorities are on the upswing. This is true in both the United Kingdom and the United States. Racist attacks on both Asians and Blacks took place in the United Kingdom in the 1980s. Violent incidents against Asian Americans occurred in the U.S. in the mid 1980s

(Butterfield, 1985). Some observers have linked the increase in overt bigotry to the serious economic problems that most of the Western nations are experiencing. Racial and ethnic animosity tend to escalate during economic hard times.

Because intergroup conflict is inevitable in a pluralistic society, it is essential that we try to reduce cross-ethnic conflict and hostility. However, it is also important for us to learn to live with a degree of conflict within pluralistic societies because it is not possible to completely eliminate it. New waves of immigrants, emergent events and situations, the quest by excluded ethnic groups for equality, and the resistance to change by dominant ethnic groups are some of the factors that heighten intergroup conflict and tension in pluralistic societies.

Ethnic Diversity: An Opportunity

Ethnic and cultural diversity is also an opportunity. It can enrich a society by providing novel ways to view events and situations and to solve problems. The many different ethnic and cultural groups in the U.S.--native, enslaved, and immigrant--have contributed greatly to the strength of the political, cultural, and economic institutions in the U.S. The Native Americans taught the English colonists how to grow crops that enabled them to survive; Black music and culture have greatly enriched U.S. society; the German refugees who fled to the U.S. to escape Nazi persecution. such as Albert Einstein and Hannah Adrendt, made notable intellectual contributions to the U.S.

Ethnic groups within a nation-state, particularly those who have been denied full societal participation, often serve as its moral conscience. They remind the nation of the gross discrepancy between its democratic ideals and societal realities, and challenge it to make its ideals and realities more consistent. The civil rights movement in the U.S. during the 1960s, which was led by Afro-Americans; the quest for equality among the Asians and West Indians in the United Kingdom; and the land rights movement among the Australian Aborigines are ethnic movements that challenged their societies to make their democratic ideals a reality.

Greenbaum (1974) argues that Western societies need new ideals, and that excluded ethnic groups can be a source of them. He writes:

> The past exclusion of minority and Third World people from the western mainstream may turn out to be humanity's greatest hope. Who else can seriously question the value of placing top priority on economic growth rather than humanitarian development? Who else has so little vested interested in materialism as it stands? And who else has lived with truly different concepts from which all might begin to learn. . . . Knowing these alternative concepts,

> [Western societies] might then be able to address the basic value contradictions [they have] so far failed to resolve. (pp. 438-439)

Many observers believe that the Western nations face serious problems, in part because they have rejected most of the traditional values of the native peoples who had lived in the lands now occupied by the Western nations for thousands of years before the coming of the Europeans. Some traditional values, such as those regarding the relationship of humans with the environment and with other creatures, should be considered when we are trying to find ways to reform institutions in Western societies. The exploitation of the environment is a serious problem in most of the developed nations, in part because of the ways in which Europeans have traditionally viewed their relationship with the earth. Traditional Indian cultures in North America viewed the earth as sacred and had deep reverence for other living creatures. White Buffalo Woman gave the Lakota (Sioux) a sacred pipe and a small stone and said: "With this pipe you will walk upon the Earth; for the Earth is your Grandmother and Mother, and She is sacred. Every step that is taken upon Her should be as a prayer" (quoted in Forbes, p. 207).

My Heart Soars, a poem by Chief Dan George (1974), also illustrates the Indian's harmony with Mother Earth:

The beauty of the trees,
the softness of the air,
the fragrance of the grass,
speaks to me.

The summit of the mountain,
the thunder of the sky,
the rhythm of the sea,
speaks to me.

The faintness of the stars,
the freshness of the morning,
the dew drop on the flower,
speaks to me.

The strength of fire,
the taste of salmon,
the trail of the sun,
And the life that never goes away,
They speak to me.

And my heart soars.

Blending Tradition and Modernity

The challenge to Western societies and their schools is to try to shape a modernized national culture that has selected aspects of traditional cultures co-existing in some kind of delicate balance with a modernized post-industrial society. In the past, in their singular quest for modernity and a technocratic society, the Western nation-states tried to eradicate traditional cultures and alienated individuals and groups from their first cultures and mother tongues. This approach to shaping a unified nation-state has created anomie and alienation, and has deprived individuals and groups of some of the most important ways that humans satisfy their needs for symbolic meaning and community (Apter, 1977). It has also resulted in the political and cultural oppression of some racial and ethnic groups within society and has consequently caused them to focus on particularistic needs and goals rather than on the overarching goals of the nation-state. Westernized nation-states will be able to create societies with overarching goals that are shared by all of their diverse groups only when these groups feel that they have a real stake and place in their nation-states and that their states mirror their concerns, values, and ethos.

The Educational Response to Ethnic Diversity

Educators in the various Western nations, such as the U.S., Canada, Australia, Sweden, and the Netherlands, have implemented a wide range of programs, projects, and curricula to respond to the unique needs of ethnic minority students, to help all students to better understand cultural and ethnic diversity, and to reduce ethnic and racial tension (Banks and Lynch, 1986). These programs and curricula include Teaching English as a Second Language (TESOL), bilingual-bicultural education, ethnic studies, anti-racist education, and a number of innovations collectively known as multicultural education.

In each of the Western nations, these various programs and curricula innovations have created tremendous controversy and conflict because educators, as well as the general public, disagree sharply about the major purpose of education in a culturally diverse society, and about what is the best means to attain agreed-upon goals. At least three major philosophical positions in the debate can be identified: the assimilationist, the cultural pluralist, and the biculturalist or multiculturist (Banks, 1981).

Assimilationists

The assimilationists argue that the major goal of the school should be to socialize students from diverse ethnic, racial, and cultural groups so that they will develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to

participate in the common and shared national, universal civic culture. To perpetuate the culture, languages, and values of ethnic and minority youths is dysfunctional because it prevents these youths from acquiring the attitudes, knowledge, and skills needed to be effective workers and citizens in the universal culture of the nation-state. The assimilationist envisions a common, overarching, and shared culture in which ethnic affiliations and attachments have essentially disappeared and have no important role. Rather, the individual's attachments and identifications are primarily related to achieved statuses and to groups such as class, education, occupation, and other important interest groups. The individual is freed of ethnic affiliations, obligations, and attachments. This freedom from the ethnic group enables the individual to participate in the universal culture and society in a way that is based on individual achievement and merit. In a modernized society, ethnicity dies of its own weight. Social scientists such as Porter (1975) in Canada and Patterson (1977) in the United States have developed thoroughly and defended the assimilationist ideology.

Cultural Pluralists

The cultural pluralist denies the assimilationist's "individual view" of society and argues that in Western societies individuals are viewed first as members of particular racial, ethnic, and social class groups and only secondarily as individuals. The pluralist argues that individual opportunity is directly related to the social, educational, and economic position of an individual's cultural, ethnic, or racial group. Only a few individuals are able to advance beyond the economic, educational, and social status of her or her own ethnic, racial, or cultural group. Thus, individual opportunity is a pervasive myth within the Western nations that is perpetuated to keep powerless and structurally excluded ethnic groups content with their second-class status. This myth helps to contain ethnic rage and dissipates discontent (Dickeman, 1973).

Consequently, the pluralist argues that a major goal of education should be to help students to retain their ethnic cultures and to develop a commitment to help their ethnic group to attain social, economic, and political equity. The skills, energies, and contributions of each individual is needed to help excluded ethnic and racial groups to attain equality and structural inclusion into the national society.

Conceptions of Societal Reform

Assimilationists and pluralists differ in their view of the need for fundamental reform in the nation-state. Assimilationists view the major goals, assumptions, and characteristics of the nation society as essentially just and defensible. They believe that cultural and ethnic minorities are denied full participation in the national culture because they lack the

requisite knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Pluralists believe that the national society needs to radically reform its major goals, values, and economic institutions so that it will promote equality for all racial, cultural, and ethnic groups. They argue that Western nations are controlled by a few dominant racial and cultural groups who systematically exclude other groups from full societal participation because of their ethnic and cultural characteristics.

The Biculturalists and Multiculturalists

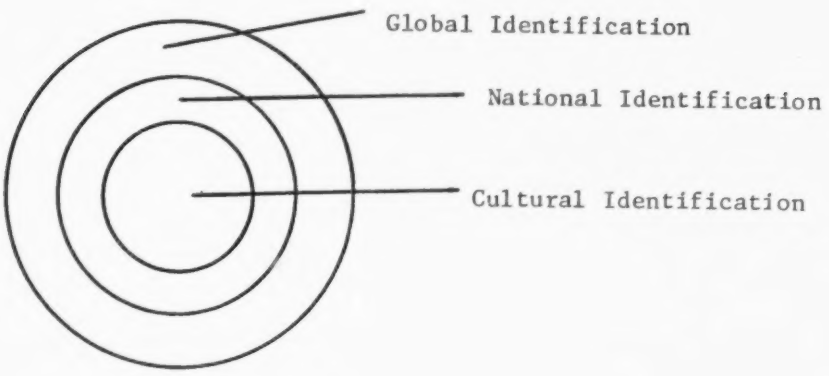
Bicultural and multicultural theorists contend that neither the assimilationist nor the cultural pluralist, in their ideal or pure forms, can effectively guide curriculum reform in a democratic nation that has a universal culture that is heavily influenced by and shared by all ethnic and cultural groups (Banks, 1981). Programs based primarily on assimilationist assumptions perpetuate misconceptions about the nature of the nation-state and violate the ethnic identities of students. They fail to recognize, validate, and celebrate the student's home and community cultures. Curricular practices that reflect an extreme notion of cultural pluralism distort societal realities and give inadequate attention to the universal national civic culture that strongly influences the behavior and values of all citizens of the nation-state. All citizens need to acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills essential for effective participation in the national civic culture. The pluralist ideology, in its strongest form, devotes insufficient attention to the need for ethnic youths to become effective citizens of the nation-state.

Bicultural and multicultural theorists, who borrow elements from both the assimilationists and the pluralists, envision a society in which students maintain an attachment to their cultural communities but are also effective participants in the national social, economic, and civic cultures. Citizens from diverse cultures work for significant reform of the social, economic, and political systems so that these systems will promote equity for individuals from diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, and social-class groups.

Multicultural theorists view the school as a microculture where acculturation takes place: both teachers and students should assimilate some of the views, perceptions and ethos of each other as they interact. Both teachers and students will be enriched by this process and the academic achievement of students from diverse cultures will be enhanced because their cosmos and ethos will be reflected and legitimized in the school (Banks, 1986). In the school culture envisioned by the multicultural theorists, both teachers and students will maintain their separate cultural identities but live in peaceful interaction. This is called accommodation. However, in order for accommodation to take place, power must be shared and the cultures of both students and teachers must be legitimized and respected by the schools and the larger society.

Figure 1

The Expanding Identifications of Students



The multicultural curriculum should help students to develop reflective, clarified, and positive identifications with their cultural group, nation, and the global world community.

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Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Conflict

Many observers, particularly those who are sympathetic to the assimilationist conception of society, are concerned that educational programs that promote group identity, mother tongue languages, and ethnic cultures will promote ethnic conflict and contribute to the Balkanization of the nation-state. Many individuals who express this concern assume that cultural and national identity are distinct entities and that nation-states can help students to develop clarified and reflective national identities by suppressing and eradicating their ethnic and cultural identities. Historically, this has been the approach frequently used by the common and state schools in Western societies to develop national loyalty and identification. Students were often told to leave their family and home cultures at the schoolhouse door because in the classroom only the "national" culture was allowed. The national culture was usually that of the dominant group or groups. This practice reinforced dominant ethnic group hegemony and control.

In a compassionate essay, Greenbaum (1974) describes how the U.S. school taught ethnic individuals "shame" for their ethnic cultures, but gave them "hope" for inclusion into U.S. society if they betrayed and denied their family and ethnic cultures. Dubois (Wilson, 1970) also wrote cogently about the conflicts that ethnic groups experience by the push to become assimilated into the mainstream culture, and the pull to remain ethnic and to maintain roots in one's first culture. This phenomenon is known as the push-pull syndrome. Forcing students to make a choice between their families and social and economic mobility is a flawed and dysfunctional way to help students to develop national loyalty and clarified, positive, and reflective national identifications.

Students must see their cultures, perspectives, world views, and ethos reflected in the nation-state in order to develop positive attitudes and loyalty toward it. The nation-state and the school must validate, legitimize, and respect the cultures of ethnic students if they are to feel a part of the national society and to develop strong loyalty to the nation-state. When the state and public institutions reject and show disrespect for the cultures of individuals and groups, they respond by becoming alienated from the nation-state rather than developing strong loyalties to it. They focus on particularistic needs and goals rather than on the overarching goals of the body polity or nation-state.

Students must develop clarified, positive, and reflective cultural, national, and global identifications in order to become effecitve participants in their cultural communities and the nation-state (Banks, 1981). The relationship between cultural, national, and global identifications illustrated in Figure 1. Cultural, national, and global identifications are interrelated--each is a requisite to the other. Students cannot develop strong and clarified attachments to the nation-state if they have confused cultural identifications, experience self-alienation, and feel that they are not integral parts of the nation-state and that it fails to validate and reflect their cosmos and world. Individuals can develop

positive and clarified global attachments only if they have realistic and reflective national identifications.

Cultural, National, and Global Identifications

I am defining identification as "a social-psychological process involving assimilating the values, standards, expectations, or social roles of another person or persons into one's behavior and self-conception" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1979, p. 194-195). Identification is an evolving. dynamic, complex, and ongoing process and not a static or unidimensional conceptualization. All individuals belong to many different groups and consequently develop multiple group attachments and identifications. Individuals who have clarified and reflective cultural, national, and global identifications understand how these identifications developed, are able to thoughtfully and objectively examine their cultural group, nation and world, and understand both the personal and public implications of these identifications.

Cultural Identification

I am using the term cultural identification to refer only to those attachments and identifications that relate to regional, religious, social class. ethnic, and racial groups (Banks, 1983). These groups are primarily ascriptive and involuntary. They are primary groups to which individuals are likely to have deep psychological attachments, primordial affiliations, and a sense of peoplehood and historic attachment. These groups evoke feelings and allegiances of a "we-they" and a "us-them" variety. The attachments that individuals are likely to have to their primordial cultural groups, such as their small neighborhood and their ethnic or religious group, are primarily emotional, non-reflective, unexamined, and unconscious.

The cultural communities in which students are socialized deeply influence their behavior, their notions of what is right and wrong, and their fundamental beliefs about the world in which they live. Students' ideas about the sacred and the secular, and the importance of each in their lives, are also cogently shaped by their cultural communities. Many of the problems that develop between the school and the community, and many of the cultural disparities that students experience, are caused by conflicting values, beliefs, and behavior that are taught by the home and the school. The school in Western societies, because of its role and function, has become increasingly more secular and scientific since the turn of the century and highly suspicious and hostile toward folk beliefs and cultures. Yet, many students are socialized in homes and communities in which the sacred is valued more than the secular and the scientific, and in which traditional cultural beliefs and values are strongly held.

The school should help all students to develop an understanding of their cultural group identifications, to objectively examine their cultural groups, to better understand the relationship between their cultural groups and other cultural groups within their nation, and to learn the personal and public implications of their cultural group identifications and attachments. Historically, the school has forced students to experience alienation from their first cultures. Write Berger and Neuhaus (1977, pp. 21-22), "There are many . . . sometimes unconscious, ways in which the education establishment systematically disparages ways of life other than those of the upper middle class. Yet these disparaged ways of life are precisely the ways in which parents of millions of American children live. Thus, the schools teach contempt for the parents, and ultimately self-contempt."

Just as political democracy is practiced in our schools, cultural democracy should be legitimized and respected in public institutions such as schools. Berger and Neuhaus write further (1977): "Strengthening institutions such as the family and community will make people feel more at home in society and the political order will be more meaningful."

National Identification

As important as it is for the school to reflect cultural democracy and to respect and understand the student's culture, it is also vitally important for all youths--from each cultural group--to develop a reflective and clarified national identification and a strong commitment to a nation's political ideals and democratic values. An important role of the school is to help socialize youths so that they develop the attitudes, values, and skills needed to fully participate in the nation's civic life.

To maintain a vigorous and healthy democracy, a nation must have a set of overarching idealized values to which all groups of its citizens must be committed. Myrdal (1944) described the overarching idealized values of the U.S. as the American Creed, which includes equality, justice, liberty, and human dignity as core values. There is a significant gap between the idealized national values and societal practices in each of the Western nations. A major goal of each generation should be to help close the gap between a nation's egalitarian ideals and its harsh social realities.

Global Identification

It is essential that we help students to develop clarified, reflective, and positive cultural and national identifications. However, because we live in a global society in which the solutions to the earth's problems require the cooperation of all nations of the world, it is also important for students to develop global identifications and the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to become effective and influential citizens in

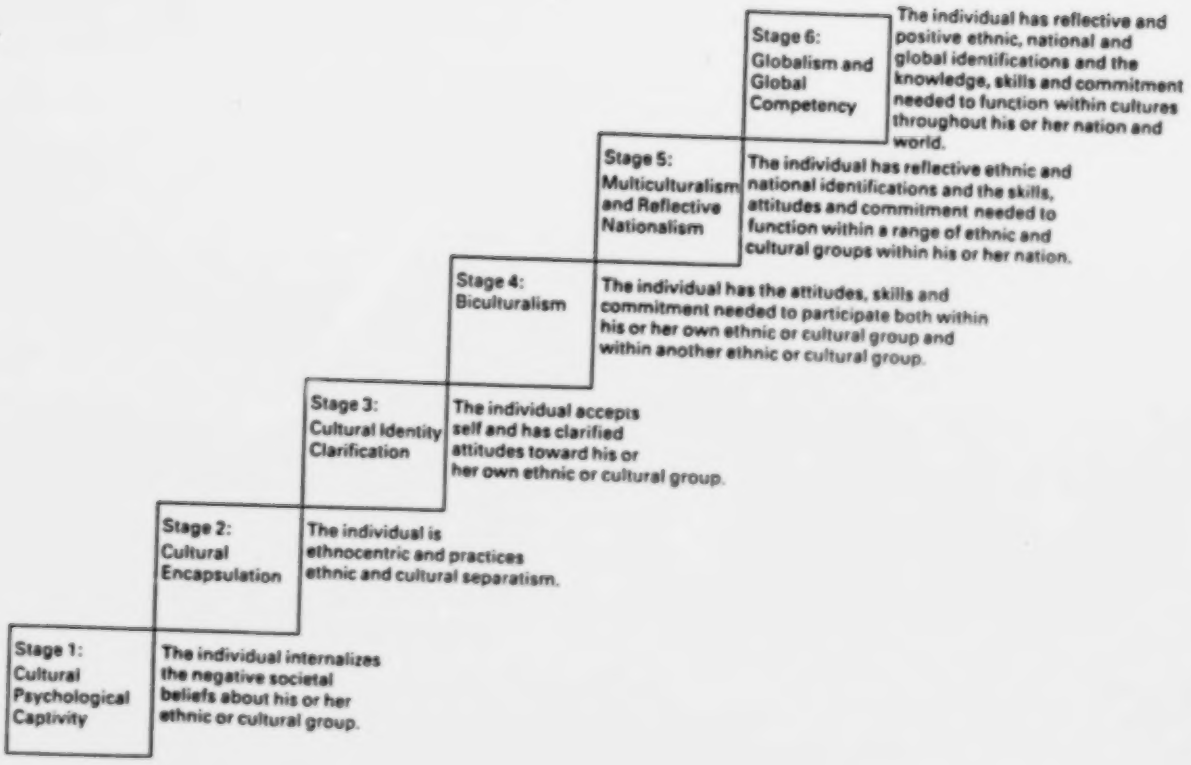
Stage 6:
Globalism and Global Competency
The individual has reflective and positive ethnic, national and global identifications and the knowledge, skills and commitment needed to function within cultures throughout his or her nation and world.
Stage 5:
Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism
The individual has reflective ethnic and national identifications and the skills, attitudes and commitment needed to function within a range of ethnic and cultural groups within his or her nation.
Stage 4:
Biculturalism
The individual has the attitudes, skills and commitment needed to participate both within his or her own ethnic or cultural group and within another ethnic or cultural group.
Stage 3:
Cultural Identity Clarification
The individual accepts self and has clarified attitudes toward his or her own ethnic or cultural group.
Stage 2:
Cultural Encapsulation
The individual is ethnocentric and practices ethnic and cultural separatism.
Stage 1:
Cultural Psychological Captivity
The individual internalizes the negative societal beliefs about his or her ethnic or cultural group.

Figure 2 *The stages of ethnic and cultural development.* From Banks, J.A. (1981) *Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice*, p. 220. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. Reproduced with the permission of the publisher.

the world community. I believe that cultural, national, and global identifications are developmental in nature and that an individual can attain a healthy and reflective national identification only when he or she has acquired a healthy and reflective cultural identification; and that individuals can develop a reflective and positive global identification only after they have a realistic, reflective, and positive national identification.

Individuals can develop a clarified commitment and identification with a nation-state and the national culture only when they believe that they are a meaningful part of that nation-state and that it acknowledges, reflects, and values their culture and them as individuals. A nation-state that alienates and does not meaningfully and structurally include an ethnic group into the national culture runs the risk of creating alienation within that ethnic group and of fostering separatism and separatist movements and ideologies. Citizens will find it very difficult, if not impossible, to develop reflective global identifications within a nation-state that perpetuates a nonreflective and blind nationalism.

The Need for a Delicate Balance of Identifications

Unexamined and nonreflective cultural identifications, and structural exclusion from full participation in the national civic culture, can prevent students from developing reflective national identifications. Blind nationalism that is non-reflective will prevent students from developing positive and reflective global identifications. Students need to develop a delicate balance of cultural, national, and global identifications. At various times and in different situations and events, one's cultural, national, or global identification will become more important and salient.

The Expanding Identifications of Youths: A Typology

I have developed a typology of the stages of ethnic and cultural development that describes the nature and interrelationships of cultural, national, and global identifications (Banks, 1981). This typology assumes that individuals can be classified according to their stages of ethnic and cultural identification development. It is a Weberian ideal-type construct (see Figure 2) and should be viewed as dynamic and multidimensional rather than as static and linear. Thus, within Stage 1, individuals are more or less culturally psychologically captivated; some individuals are more culturally captivated than others. The division between the stages is blurred rather than sharp. Thus a continuum exists between as well as within the stages (Banks, 1977, p. 21).

Stage 1: Cultural Psychological Captivity. The individual accepts the negative ideologies, beliefs, values, and norms about his or her ethnic or cultural group that are institutionalized within the larger society during this stage. Consequently, the individual exemplifies cultural self-rejection and low self-esteem.

Stage 2: Cultural Encapsulation. This stage is characterized by cultural encapsulation and cultural exclusiveness, including voluntary separatism. The individual participates primarily within his or her own cultural group and believes that his or her cultural group is superior to that of other groups. The number of individuals in this stage within a particular cultural group is likely to decrease as the group experiences economic and social mobility and structural inclusion into society.

Stage 3: Cultural Identity Clarification. The individual in this stage is able to clarify his or her attitudes and cultural identity and to reduce intrapsychic conflict. He or she is able to develop clarified attitudes toward his or her own cultural group. The individual learns to accept self, thus developing the characteristics (knowledge, skills, and attitudes) needed to accept and respond positively to outside racial and ethnic groups.

Stage 4: Biculturalism. Individuals within this stage have a healthy sense of cultural identity and the psychological characteristics and skills needed to participate successfully in his or her own culture as well as within another culture. The individual is thoroughly bicultural and is able to engage in cultural-switching behavior.

Stage 5: Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism. The Stage 5 individual has clarified, reflective, and positive personal, cultural, and national identifications, positive attitudes toward other cultural and ethnic groups, and is self-actualized. The individual is able to function, at least beyond superficial levels, within several cultures within his or her nation-state and to understand, appreciate, and share the values, symbols, and institutions of several ethnic, regional, or social class cultures within the nation-state.

The individual has a reflective and realistic national identification and realistically views his or her nation-state as the multiethnic and multicultural society that it is. The Stage 5 individual has cross-cultural competency within his or her own nation and a commitment to the national ideals, creeds, and values of the nation-state.

Stage 6 : Globalism and Global Competency. The individual in Stage 6 has clarified, reflective, and positive cultural, national and global identifications, and the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function within different cultures within his or her own nation as well as within cultures outside his or her nation in other parts of the world. The Stage 6 individual has the ideal delicate balance of cultural, national, and global identifications.

Summary

The tremendous racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity that characterizes Western societies today presents both challenges and opportunities. Ethnic conflict and tension are an inevitable consequences of pluralistic societies. We must learn to live with a degree of conflict and tension in a culturally diverse nation-state. However, we should also formulate policy and strategies to reduce ethnic conflicts and tensions. We can reduce inter-ethnic conflict and tension by formulating and implementing educational policies that promote the structural inclusion of all ethnic, racial, and cultural groups into the nation-state.

While pluralism is a challenge to Western nation-states, it is also an opportunity. It provides a source of innovation and helps a society to perceive problems in new ways and to develop novel ways to solve them. Structurally excluded ethnic and cultural groups also serve as a moral conscience for the nation-state by challenging it to close the gap between its democratic ideals and social realities.

To maximize the possibilities for benefits to result from cultural and ethnic diversity, the nation-state must validate the cultures of its diverse groups and help their members to develop clarified, reflective, and positive cultural, national, and global identifications.

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